1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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415
351

FRONTISPIECE.

Phaggu and Family.

[Facing Title Page]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE I.

142
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Kol Women near Jubbulpore.

[Facing p. 8]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE II.

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Raja Kol of Garhi—a Rautiya.

Pharali & Bamba—Thakuriya Kols

[Facing p. 9]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE III.

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Makkhi of Barela.

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Three Kols with a Brahmin who officiates at certain social ceremonies. Taken near Deori.

[Facing p. 16]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE VII.

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Interior Views of a Kol House. Bedding and Clothes in Centre; Dewahar to far left.

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Closer View of the Dewahar showing evidences of Worship

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A Jar used for the storing of Grain inside the House.

3

[Facing p: 18]

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PLATE XIII.

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Disciples of Gurbu - a Rawiya Kol.

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A Kachuwa Rawiya with the wooden bowl from which they mean eat. Near Kanel.

[facing p. 38]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XIV.

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Jagdeo - a Thakuriya Kol.

Bharosa and Nunhu - Thakuriya Kols.

[Facing p. 39]

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XI.

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Kol Elders in Rewa State.

[352]

Elders in Panagar discussing Kol Customs.

[Facing p. 48]

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PLATE XII.

A Demonstration of the Kol Salutation.

[Facing p. 49]

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XV.

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Kol Women and Children in Barela.

Another group in Panagar.

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A Kol Widow. The metal Bangles are retained.

[Facing p. 66]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XVI.

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A Group of Kol Children at Barela.

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Children in the Kol Mahalla, Jubbulpore.

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Children of Factory Workers.

[Facing p. 67]

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PLATE XVII

A Kol burial ground near Barela. The two mounds represent recent interments. Broken Bangles are in evidence on the Ground.

facing p. 115

S:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XXXI.

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A shrine to the Buffalo god Bhainsokhar, at Benda. The plant growing on the platform is the Tulasi.

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Kol shrine to Khermai in Jubbulpore Hill area.

Shrine to Jogni devi beside the doorway of a Kol House. Note the black glass Bangles on the bamboo stick and the Ghi marks below.

[facing p. 136]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

even death are often traced to this influence. A woman is more likely to have an evil eye than a man. Kols believe that Gond women should be avoided as far as possible for many of them are said to have an evil eye that is likely to affect children. A well-dressed person is more likely to be affected than a poorly dressed one, and to put on fine clothes is to attract attention and therefore invite danger.

The evil eye may also be directed against animals and plants; so a bad crop, or the illness or death of an animal, may be due to some one with an evil eye. Pumpkins are often trained to grow upon the roof of Kol houses and may be protected from the evil eye by white-washing an ordinary flat tile, making a cross in the centre with lamp-black, and putting upon the tile as many dots as there are pumpkins growing upon the roof. This will protect them and no pumpkin will rot. A rotted pumpkin is the sure sign of the activity of this mysterious force.

The time of eating is a particularly dangerous one from the point of view of the evil eye. No stranger should come into the presence of one who is taking his meal, and at that time he should turn his back on all people, including even the members of his own household. If one possessed of the evil eye should see the face of a person taking his food it may have a serious result. Therefore it is wise never to interrupt a man at his meals; this a stranger will never do. If accidentally confronted in this way, the eater should stop his meal and wait till the person has passed out of sight. To be seen in the act of putting on new clothes is also to expose oneself to the dangers of the evil eye, should such a person happen by.

WHAT THESE FORCES DO. We have seen something of the supernormal powers which the average Kol feels are all about him. What do these powers bring to pass? Some indication of this has been given already, but more may be stated. Diseases, particularly wasting diseases, are surely due to the presence of evil spirits or the spell of the evil eye. Any mysterious disease may be ascribed to these powers. Ill luck is also due to the attention of the forces named above. A man may be tripped up: it is the work of a spirit; he cuts his hand: a *bhut* directed the axe. We were told of a certain evil spirit dwelling in a banyan tree on the Great Deccan Road near Katni. He was particularly annoyed by cyclists: probably he could not get used to the march of civilization. This spirit was especially active at midday and midnight, and if a cyclist should fail to show respect, by not dismounting and walking by the tree at those particular hours, he was sure to be killed. It was commonly reported

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

789 *Iron* is, on the whole, probably the most common of protective metals; and while some put copper above iron, nevertheless in the case of the Kols, iron appears to be more widely used than copper. The use of iron takes many forms. A woman should always have a bit of iron about her as she is usually exposed to evil influences more than are the men folk. This may take the form of a bracelet, an anklet, a ring on the finger, or an iron ring about the neck. Again it may be just a piece of the metal tied somewhere in the garments or on a string about the waist. [755] A sick man should always have iron about him to prevent further demoniac influences during his period of helplessness. An iron key is a protective [513] and even nails in shoes are useful in this respect. A piece of iron ought to be under the head as one sleeps and iron nails are often driven into the four corners of a wooden cot should the Kol sleep on one. In the case of children iron helps to repel the evil eye. [585] At the wedding time the bridegroom carries iron about with him, and iron is found in the wedding booth.

Iron protects houses from the entry of evil spirits and makes their habitation there impossible. Therefore, when a house is built [342] iron is buried under the floor, particularly near the threshold. Even though unseen by the human eye it will influence the demons and [775] they fear to enter and abide in the house. Perhaps *bhuts* are thought of as still living in the stone age and dreading the new-fangled iron and its power to break the strongest things of which they know.

789 *Lac*, obtained from the gum of the *Khairwar* tree (*Acacia catechu*), and prepared in the form of bangles and beads, averts the evil eye and [314] wards off spirits. This is variously coloured.

Lampblack is widely used for children and protects them from the evil eye. [751] While it disguises them and renders them less attractive, it also has the practical purpose of protecting the eye from the glare of the sun. The lampblack, mixed with oil to make a paste, is placed just below the eyes and often gives the child a weird and unnatural appearance.

789 *Leather* is a very common devil-scarer throughout India and has its uses for the Kols, such as the custom of employing it in connection 237 with the building of houses. For protection, in this instance, an old 291 shoe will generally be found stuck somewhere about the wall which is being built. This is apparent in the picture appearing in connection with building customs.[1] If they can be afforded, leather shoes with nails in them are a double protection, and no Kol goes on a long journey without [484] taking a pair of country shoes with him even though he seldom uses them. He will carry them hanging from a stick or in his hands.

1 See plate VIII.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

and fearful for at least twelve years. Usually such spirits are not dangerous, and some have said that after twelve years they go to Bhagwan or may be born into the world again. 762 775

Sometimes the woman may die in childbirth and the child be born alive. If so, it is thought very likely that the child owes its life to an evil spirit, who desires it for some evil purpose, and hence the child may really be a *bhut*. It is very difficult to get a wet nurse for such children and they usually do not survive very long. 845 776 775

We happened to be in a Kol village a few hours after an earthquake and we asked a group what caused the movement of the earth. Nearly all at once agreed that the earth shook because of *pap*, or sin. One or two though, began to think and said that the real reason was that the earth rested upon the heads of *Nag*—a many-headed serpent, and that once in twelve years he had to shift the earth from one head to another and that produced an earthquake. But when confronted with the obvious fact that an earthquake came oftener than once in twelve years they were puzzled and could not account for it. The latter explanation is the one frequently advanced among Hindus, but Kols were not very familiar with it. 823 [773] 177

Rain, so intimately connected with the welfare of forest people, may often be brought to pass by magical processes, and there are frequent instances of this among the tribes and castes of Central Provinces. In many of these rites nudity is an essential part, for moved by pity at their representation of poverty, Indra or some rain *devis* will grant refreshing showers. No trace of nudity practices was found among the Kols. The more sophisticated Kol believes that rain is sent only by Indra, the Vedic god of rain, and that it is only through a Brahmin that the gift of rain may be secured. 821 [291] [177]

Some Kols use frogs in an attempt to bring the rains. Frogs and rains are intimately associated in their minds, for in the weeks that precede the coming of the monsoon, the frogs croak long and loudly, and it is thought that their calls bring the showers. So if the monsoon is delayed and there is a drouth, Kol boys will round up all the frogs they can. The larger they are, the better for this purpose. A thread is tied round the leg of each frog and they are then dragged about the village. As they pass by houses the people living there come out and sprinkle a bit of water over them. The boys and their frogs finally end up at the village shrine and the latter are tied before the *devi*. It is said that the croaking of the frogs at the shrine will affect the *devi* resident there and she too will long for cooling showers, so she gets to work and uses her influence and power to help bring the rain to pass. 821 825 789

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XVIII.

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Kol Musicians with Dholaks and Timakia under a Nim tree in Rewa State.

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A Procession ready to start through the Village of Salavara.

[Facing p 220]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XIX.

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A Kol woman dances the Dadra to the beat of the Dholak and Timukia.
Note the snapping of the Fingers.

[Facing p. 221]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XXVI.

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Bajranji—A Kol in Famine time.

[212]

Dholi—A Literate Kol.

[facing p. 248]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XXVII.

159
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Phaggu—A Kol who turned Sect.

Harlal—A Kol and Modern life.

[Facing p. 249]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE X.

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[415]

Kols Threshing and Winnowing their Wheat near Barela

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Tendu leaves gathered by Kols for Biri manufacture. The two men on the right are Muhammadan leaf Brokers. Khorsra Ghat Village.

[Facing p. 265]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

members of the family able to work they leave their rude huts and then return three or four months later with a bit of money with which to buy clothes and the like. Some of the women accompany them, though not the children, and when they return at the end of the season there are a large number of infants which have been born to them in the fields as they have worked. 178 221 464

There are three strata among the Kols of today. From the economic view the factory coolies are better off. While wages are not high they are higher than can be won in agricultural or forest work and the income is steady. As forest people and agricultural serfs they may have enough to eat, but no money for anything else. Factory work brings three to four times the wage of the Kol who works away in the villages, and lasts the year round. Everywhere it is said that the Kols are the best group of workmen among those employed and often they are the main workers throughout a factory where unskilled labour is needed. As they are working in the factories they are also learning trades, and fifty years from now it may be found that Kols have taken up many trades and have made good. There is no occupational restriction as with many Hindu castes. 178 434 464 [463]

As the economic level is raised there is usually found a definite improvement in living conditions. Bad as the factory lines are they are much better than the rude huts of the jungle Kols. A Kol in Katni has built for himself a brick house of a very respectable appearance. In order to supplement their farm earnings the agricultural Kols still practise on the side their primitive occupations of wood and grass cutting. The industrial Kols are not able to do this, for they must work daily in the factory unless it happens to be closed on Sunday. On that day it will be found that a few Kols have gone out where wood may be cut and each brings back a load to the factory lines. This is cut for their own use and is not for sale. 178 511 [313]

Wherever Kols have been settled for some years they have told us how they first came and lived in grass huts and how gradually, as they became sure of their place there and as work became fairly regular and certain, that they have put up better living quarters and finally have built good mud houses with tiled roofs. More is owned by them than they ever had before. They possess livestock and there may be considerable amounts invested in jewellery. [231 454]

Judging from the pictures in books like Crooke, Russell and Hiralal and Roy's work on the Mundas and other related tribes, the Kols of today in Central India cover their persons with clothes much more completely than the earlier pictures represent. Today one finds but little exposure of the breasts by Kol women, and in the 178 291

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

178 291 [126] presence of men they usually cover their heads with their *saris*. It was difficult to get, for the anthropometric data, photographs of Kol women with their heads uncovered.

177 178 793 585 [558] SOCIAL CHANGES. In the social realm there are certain important changes which may be noted and yet there is a persistence in the older ways. This is characteristic of much of Indian life. Even fifty years ago the Brahmin priest was called for some Kol weddings and some other groups did not call him. The same holds true today, though now-a-days to call the *pandit* is the "right" thing to do, and those who do not call him, but manage things themselves, are looked down upon. Outside of the marriage cycle the Brahmin priest is nowhere else absolutely essential to Kol life, though occasional use is made of him at the name-giving ceremony and the throwing of ashes into the rivers Ganges or Nerbudda.

178 564 [177] It appears that there is a definite hardening of the social divisions within the Kol tribe. The Kols are apparently forming a miniature caste system within the tribe somewhat modelled after Hindu caste. These groups are endoganous and interdining is forbidden and in general they take the form of true castes[1]. If a Kol is asked about his race, he will probably not answer Kol, but give the subcaste: Rautiya, Thakuriya or another. Kols are very particular about their sub-divisions, and while there is some evidence available to show a desire to break down these distinctions, the main interest seems to be in their preservation. The system seems to be hardening and more firmly entrenched than ever. In discussing this, one Kol gathering said that they were trying to discourage this group consciousness and they were encouraging (1) intermarriage and (2) interdining. They felt that this was the proper order. As yet, however, to their knowledge, no actual cases of intermarriage or interdining had occurred.

177 HINDUIZATION. The process of Hinduization is essentially a social phenomenon. Considerable attention has been paid to Hindu influence in passing and the matter may be summed up here. Throughout the centuries and up till the present time there has been a persistent movement of primitive tribes into Hinduism. They have not come by conversion but by absorption. The term Hindu is very elastic and it often happens that a member of one of these primitive races does not know whether he is a Hindu or not. There has been no

1 Blunt, in *The Caste System of Northern India*, states that there are three characteristics of a caste: Heredity, Endogamy, and restrictions on Commensality. (pp. 1-2).

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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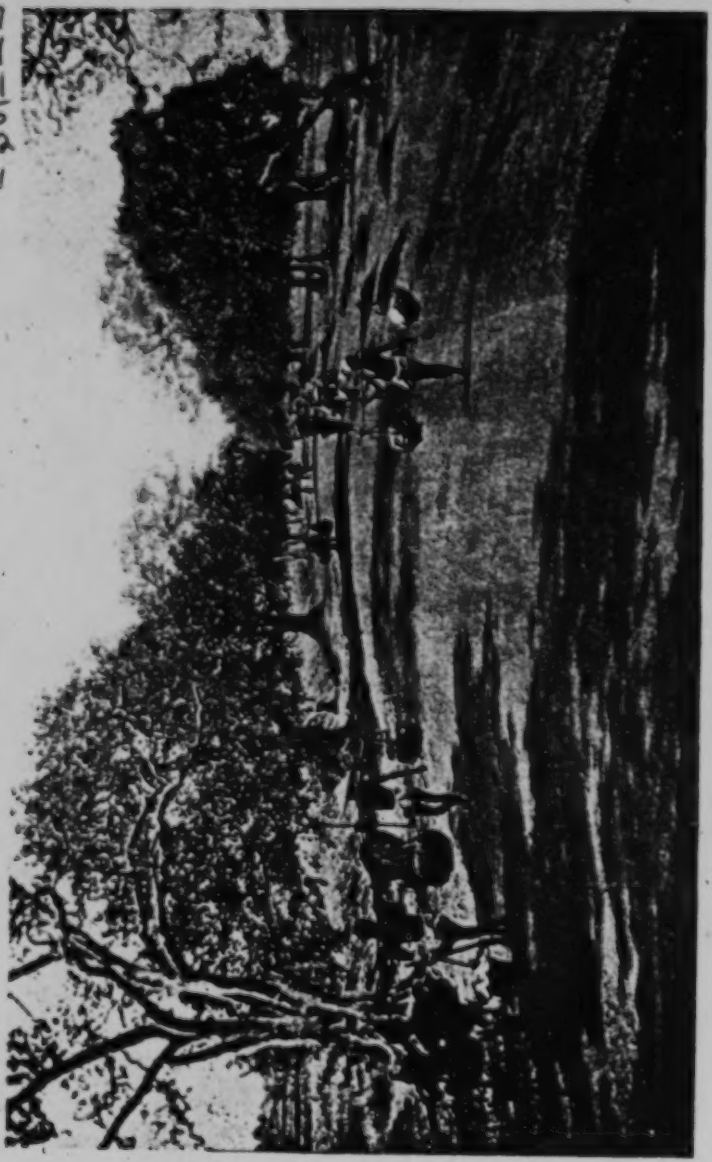

PLATE XXIX

Kols migrating North following the Wheat Harvest.

[FACING p. 277]